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Rhodes Must Not Fall?
Statues, post-colonial 'Heritage' and temporality

Richard Drayton

Introduction

When we think about the 'experience of empire', whose objects, whose representations are curated behind whose vitrine? By 'empire' we (should) mean a system of white supremacy and class domination organised through cycles of exemplary violence and patronage, inscribed in the organisation of knowledge and common sense, in art and architecture and museums, as much as in the rituals of politics or the economy. Coloniser and colonised were produced and reproduced as subjectivities through the repetitive operations of power and by cultural processes mediated often by objects. Even after the democratic revolutions of the twentieth century, in which civic personhood was, at least formally, extended to women, the poor, and people of colour, we continue to live in a symbolic landscape which erases from sight and sound that majority who lived and died on the underside of 'empire'. This raises serious questions about the question of heritage in post-colonial Europe, particularly in that extramural museum which is the modern city.

Politics translated into stone

Exhibition, the organisation of a spectacle for the public gaze, is a principle of urban planning as much of the museum. Edifying civic monuments were in fact the ideological and historical twins of the modern public museum. Although religious shrines had a long ancestry, civic statues were unusual in early modern Europe. From the middle of the eighteenth century, however, linked to a politics of citizenship and to new ideas about history, the makers of the modern city erected public memorials of 'great men' as much as they ordered public museums and archives. During and after the French revolutions of 1789, 1830 and 1848, and the 1871 Commune, statues were erected and destroyed and rebuilt as objects of political rhetoric in sculpture.[1] In big and small cities, Cohen writes, elites sought to "perpetuate their values in the space they dominated" through statues.[2] In Britain and its global diasporas, at the same time, public statues became similarly more numerous and larger. Nelson and Wellington were joined by other kinds of 'heroes'.[3] After 1850, urban statues, no longer limited to 'warriors and statesmen, kings and rulers of men', proliferated across British cities, as statements in stone and bronze of minority political programmes.[4]

As we have begun to question how our museums are ordered, so must we begin to interrogate how our cities were curated by and for privileged minorities. Civic spaces and sculpture were tools through which nineteenth- and twentieth-century elites sought to command the values of the living and the unborn. In their rehearsal of the world view of the winners, they do not just obliterate the losers, they rehearse permanently the violence of domination.

In this essay, I seek to examine two contemporary controversies about public statues at the centre of cities. The spur for this enquiry is the controversy which has raged in Britain since 2015 about the statue of Cecil Rhodes at the climax of the University of Oxford, on the High Street façade of Oriel College facing the university church Great St Mary's.[5] The arguments that have so far prevailed to protect this statue have turned on the proposition that to remove it would be a philistine act equivalent to the Taliban's destruction of the Buddhas of Bamiyan. Across the world in Barbados, a very similar public debate has surrounded the statue of Lord Nelson at the heart of Bridgetown opposite the national parliament. In both cases those with a conservative view of the question have deployed the idea of heritage. This raises the question, whose heritage and what history is being preserved and what history is being silenced, in Michel-Rolph Trouillot's sense, in the sacred places of the present?[6] Is it necessarily the case that to remove statues from important public places is the token of barbarism and a kind of vandalism towards the past?

Statues, post-colonial 'Heritage' and temporality

We might contrast the cases of Oxford and Bridgetown with the contemporary case of Barcelona. On 4 March 2018, to the music of a brass band and a fiesta crowned with fireworks, the city of Barcelona took down the statue of Antonio Lopez y Lopez, the first Marquis of Comillas, moving it from the heart of the business district where it

had stood since 1884 to a museum store [FIGURE 1].[7]

1. Removal of the Statue of the Marquis of Comillas, Barcelona, 4 March 2018.

Comillas had made his first fortune in the slave trade to Cuba, based on which he made later fortunes in railways, the tobacco trade with the Philippines, shipping and banking. Colonial wealth allowed him to become an important philanthropist and a political figure prominent in financing Spain's repression of Cuban rebels, in opposing the end of slavery in Cuba, and in the restoration of the monarchy after the first Spanish Republic in the 1870s. It was principally for that latter association, but also for his Cuban role, that in 1936 partisans of the second Spanish Republic destroyed the statue. Under Franco it was rebuilt in 1944. From 2010, anti-racist organisations and the trade union federations Confederación Sindical de Comisiones Obreras and the Unión General de Trabajadores began to demand that this symbol of slavery, colonialism, political reaction and Franco's age be removed from the centre of the city. As he presided over its removal in 2018, the deputy mayor of Barcelona Gerardo Pisarello declared «los negreros no tienen cabida en esta ciudad» (Slavers have no place in our city).[8]

Three years earlier, on 9 April 2015, the statue of Cecil Rhodes, which had loomed above the campus of the University of Cape Town, was removed after a short campaign of public pressure. There, as in Barcelona, it was not merely what the subject meant at the moment of its construction, but its association with a view of the more recent politics of repression for which its hero had operated as an anchor. As Zethu Matebeni, one of the protagonists of that original 'Rhodes must fall' campaign, argued, the statue had in silent but powerful ways indicated that black South Africans would be perpetually the second-class citizens of the university.[9] It was not the first such act in the recent history of South Africa. Earlier in 1994, the statue of Hendrik Verwoerd, the architect of apartheid, had been removed from parliament. However, the 2015 event, connected as it was to a wider campaign to 'decolonise the university' and to interrogate the persistence of racial social and economic inequality in South Africa, which involved attacks on other statues of great dead white men such as Kruger, had far more local and international prominence.

The British newspaper the *Telegraph* described the destruction of statues in South Africa in April 2015 as 'vandalism'.[10] Twelve years earlier, however, in April 2003, the same newspaper had reported the destruction of the statue of Saddam Hussein in Baghdad as the symbol of liberation and the toppling of

despotism[11](FIGURE 2).

2 Front page of the Daily Telegraph, 10 April 2003.

Across the press of the West similar tones were sounded and this piece of political theatre organised by the United States, the occupiers of Iraq, was compared to the wave of removals of statues of Stalin, Lenin and other symbols of the Soviet Union in Budapest in 1956, and across the former 'Eastern bloc' after 1989 (FIGURE).[12]

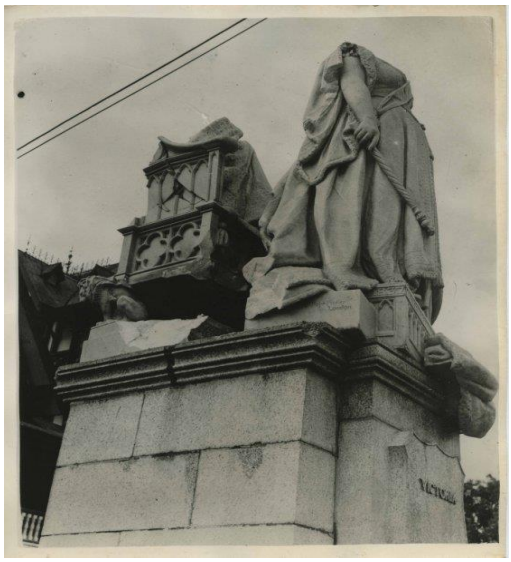
3 The destruction of the statue of Stalin, Budapest, 23 October 1956.[13]

Clearly in some cases it was necessary, even heroic, to destroy emblems of historic despotism, whatever their 'heritage' value.

Across the history of the ends of the British Empire there were multiple destructions or displacements of public art which celebrated British domination. Johannes Oertel's painting of the destruction of the statue of George III by the Sons of Liberty in New York in 1776, became a mass-produced engraving (FIGURE).[14]

4 Andreas Oertel, "Pulling down the Statue of George III (1776).

In British Guiana in 1954, the 1894 statue of Queen Victoria in front of the law courts was dynamited (FIGURE 5)[15]:



5 Dynamited statue of Queen Victoria outside the Law Courts, Georgetown, British Guiana (1954).

In India after independence in 1947, the assorted statues of British worthies were removed from their plinths and placed together in a public park. In Ireland, as with Horatio Nelson's pillar in Dublin in 1976, the symbols of a prior order of domination met a more violent end via explosives and bulldozers.[16]

This was hardly a new impulse. Tacitus, Suetonius and Herodian tell us of the removal by both the populus and the senate of the statues of Sejanus, Caligula, Domitian and others in Ancient Rome. The idea that public spaces and their decoration are to be kept in perpetuity, as they were when they were first imposed on the public, is actually a very new twenty-first century impulse, in which an older romantic fetishism of the past is reinforced, as I shall argue, by the retrogressive spirit of our own temporal conjecture. I shall explore this question via the two key cases of Bridgetown and Oxford.

Bridgetown and Nelson

Less than a year after Nelson died at the Battle of Trafalgar in October 1805, the planters and merchants of Barbados subscribed funds to build a memorial to him. In March 1813, a bronze statue was unveiled in a space they called Trafalgar Square. Both the monument and the square thus predate their London equivalents by 30 years, indeed only the Birmingham and Montreal statues of Nelson are older. But the meanings of Nelson were different, even at that time, in Barbados than in the midlands or Canada. The statue was from its beginnings entangled with the political interests of white Barbadian planters.

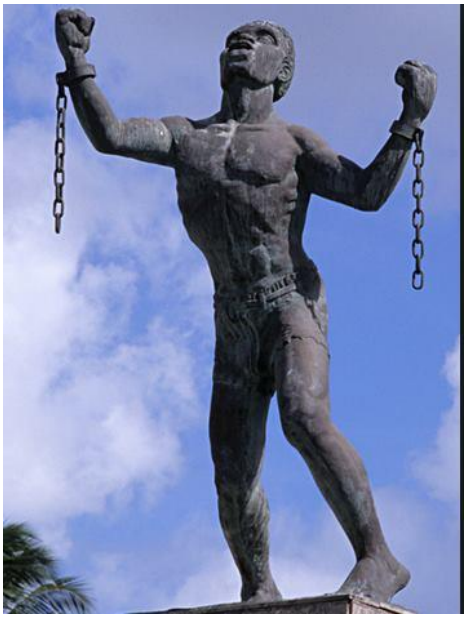
It seems clear that the sponsors of this monument sought to demonstrate their "patriotism" and their membership in the political classes of the British nation. It is

significant that the statue was built right in the centre of their capital outside their House of Assembly, the planter legislature, which dated from 1637, where the enfranchised 2% of the island's population, all white propertied Anglican men, made its laws in the name of the King (FIGURE 6).

6 Nelson in Trafalgar Square, Bridgetown, early 20th Century[17]

It is not coincidental that the statue and square were built in decades in which the "West India interest" was fighting a rear-guard battle against the abolition of the slave trade, and, after they lost that battle in 1807, against any further steps towards abolition, and always in defense of high tariffs against East Indian and other 'foreign' sugars. After slavery was abolished, effectively from 1838 (although the act was passed in 1833), the Nelson statue became a place in which Barbados' connection to Britain was celebrated. The colonial mindworld took pride that Barbados was "Little England". Amazingly, for over a century and a half, until the first government of Errol Barrow stopped it in 1962, wreaths were laid in public ceremonies in honour of Nelson each October 21st.

The statue of Nelson remained at its location at the centre of public life in Barbados, even after political independence in 1966. In the first decade of independence, forms of 'secondary decolonisation' did begin to tug at the cultural legacies of the colonial order.[18] Questions began to be asked about Nelson within the small Black Power movement, which cohered around the newspapers "Black Star" and "Manjak" in the 1960s and the Yoruba House movement of Baba Elombe Elton Mottley in the 1970s, and with the popular eruption of the Rastafarian movement with its wide-ranging interrogation of the institutions of 'Babylon'. The matter came to a head when Anthony Carter, who signing under the name the Mighty Gabby was the most important Barbadian calypsonian, put the Nelson question with a 1979 calypso "Take down Nelson (and put up a Bajan man)". In the 1980s, instead of the wreaths of only twenty years earlier, garbage and manure was placed in front of the statue. But Nelson remained, with the only public alternative arising at the outskirts of the city, with Karl Broodhagen's magnificent bronze 'Slave in Revolt' (1987)- commonly called "Bussa's statue" in Barbados, with people assuming it is an image of the 1816 slave rebellion leader (FIGURE 7).



7 Karl Broodhagen, 'Slave in Revolt' (1987)

By the late 1990s, the government of Barbados under Owen Arthur, who moved under the influence of the radical historian Hilary Beckles, decided to name ten national heroes. In 1999, overnight, Trafalgar Square was renamed Heroes Square in honour of ten people now designated 'national heroes'. Arthur constituted a "National Heroes Square and Gallery Development Committee" to consider both the fate of the statue of Nelson and the wider question of what a postcolonial Bridgetown might become. The public made some eighty-one oral and written submissions to the committee about where Nelson should be placed. On the basis of this, the committee resolved that Nelson, particularly given his association with slavery, was in no way a national hero, but that the heritage value of the statue meant it should be placed as part of a new maritime museum. In the meanwhile, however, it concluded that the government should immediately act on the removal and preservation of the statue: 'the committee felt that once the decision to remove the statue has been taken, it would be counterproductive for the statue to remain in National Heroes Square . . . since this state of affairs may unnecessarily fuel public controversy'.[19] Whereas the committee seemed to have imagined a popular nationalist turn against the statue, what actually emerged was a backlash from those, who asserting the importance of the statue of Nelson for Barbados' British-facing 'tourism product', demanded it remain. The statue of Nelson was turned in its aspect, but the Prime Minister Owen Arthur in the remaining eight years of office, took no action to remove it from his new pantheon of national heroes. The new Thompson government of 2010 was greeted by a resolution of the Barbados National Trust, a non-governmental civic heritage association dominated by wealthy Barbadians, which insisted the statue should remain in its place.[20]

Art guerrillas stepped in with direct action. In the night, on the eve of 30 November 2017, the 51st anniversary of the independence of Barbados, Nelson's statue was

Placard placed on Statue of Horatio Nelson, Bridgetown, Barbados.[21]

splashed in yellow and blue, the national colours of Barbados. A placard headed "Nelson Will Fall" was placed in front of the plinth and declared "This RACIST white supremacist who would rather die than see black people free stands proudly in our nation's capital NELSON MUST GO!! Fear not Barbados the people have spoken. Politicians have failed us. HAPPY INDEPENCE [sic erat scriptum]" (FIGURE 8).

The campaign to remove the statue of Nelson had acquired a new intensity for many reasons. One factor was the rise of the question of Reparations for Slavery, fuelled particularly after 2012 by the revelations of the Legacies of British Slave Ownership project, which led to the CARICOM governments launching their 2013 claim. Connected to this was the stress Sir Hilary Beckles, the most prominent national historian of Barbados, made about Nelson as an opponent of the abolition of the slave trade. But clearly the 'Rhodes Must Fall' campaigns in South Africa and Oxford, and

the Confederate statues question in the United States, had spurred the unknown Barbadian art-activists into action.

What exploded on social media in Barbados on 30 November 2017 in the wake of this intervention was an extraordinary discussion about public history and race. Although many supported the statue being moved, or even destroyed, noting the absurdity of his central place in National Heroes Square, others defended it, principally on the grounds of heritage. As had been urged since the question first arose in the 1970s, many argued that since Nelson had been there for so long, why move him now? Nelson's long tenure of his privileged place was then twined again with the economic question of tourism, with the suggestion that he was key to the island's appeal, particularly for British tourists. More surprising was the eruption of protests among a minority of the perhaps 8% of Barbados's population that identifies as white, which defended Nelson in one extraordinary case by asking how black Barbadians would feel if the Broodhagen statue of the heroic slave rebel was splashed in paint? Others pleaded that the white Barbadian population's origin in the indentured servants and political prisoners from Scotland and Ireland of the 17th and early 18th century, and the social exclusion of poor white Barbadians until the 20th century, were not remembered.

For the government of the day, the linked heritage and tourism issues appear to have been compelling enough to inhibit any immediate action. For the moment, there are no signs of Nelson falling in Bridgetown.

Oxford

The statue of Cecil Rhodes at the climax of the High Street façade of Oriel College, at the epicentre of the University of Oxford, facing the University Church, had been a thorn under the skin of students from the African diaspora for generations (FIGURE 9). For most of the twentieth century, its presence and absurd grandiosity standing over bishops and princes, was an object of our wry jokes as we passed down the High. But the other side of these jokes was the experience of college porters repeatedly refusing to believe people with dark skins were really students. This was part of a structural condescension, built into both the manners of the university and its curriculum, that black people, or those from the 'new commonwealth' as a secretary at Rhodes House once shamelessly put it to me, were second class citizens, tolerated guests, but with only a secondary claim to full membership of the university. Writing about his experience in interwar Oxford, where despite being ranked first in the First Class in History, dons made clear to him that a college fellowship would never be his future, while porters doubted he belonged to the university, Eric Williams, the historian and future Prime Minister of Trinidad and Tobago wrote: 'This is one of the difficulties that whites can never understand. Only Negroes and other racial groups exposed to racial prejudice can'.[22] Of course, eighty years later, over the three years of the Rhodes Must Fall controversy in Oxford, there was only a single black undergraduate at Oriel College, while one in four colleges managed to admit not even one black student.[23] In 2018, an investigation yielded multiple accounts of racial profiling by those who guarded the gates of college. As students in recent years began to come to Oxford in larger numbers from southern Africa and some from African-Caribbean Britain, they were astonished to find Rhodes so calmly presiding over the

university. The statue of Rhodes, for them, was the capstone and symbol of the university's complacency about its structural racism.[24]

The fuel for Oxford's public campaign for the removal of Rhodes statue was thus already stacked high when the spark came from Cape Town in the winter of 2015. Kwoba, Chantiluke and Nkopo's collection *Rhodes Must Fall* (2018) tells the story of that initiative. Less explored were the kinds of resistance to any change that came from within Oxford and elements of the wider British liberal public.

Indicative of a spectrum of British public opinion, which ran from the right to the left fringe of the centre, were the ex-cathedra pronouncements of such significant public figures as Harry Mount, Chris Patten, R.W. Johnson and Mary Beard, which emerged in a united phalanx in December 2015 and January 2016 when it appeared that Oriel might yield to the campaign for the statue to be moved. Mount, writing in the Evening Standard on 22 December, pronounced "don't tear down Britain's heritage because you don't like its history'.[25] Patten, the former Tory grandee, in his opening address of 12 January 2016 as Chancellor of the University of Oxford then attacked "those who presume they can rewrite history within the confines of their own notion of what is politically, culturally and morally correct."[26] More shockingly, Patten in a separate more direct statement declared that Oxford university students who don't like Cecil Rhodes 'should think about being educated elsewhere'.[27] Johnson, pillar of Oxford and the pages of the *Spectator*, in a view that became a commonplace on social media, on 22 December compared what the Rhodes Must Fall movement were doing with "what Al Qaeda and Isis are doing in places like Mali when destroying statues."[28] The seal was placed on this kind of argument by the Cambridge classicist

turned media don Mary Beard. In her blog of 20 December, Beard described the proposal to remove the statue from its prominent position as a dangerous attempt to 'erase the past', which ignored the fact that Rhodes' views were not exceptional in his time. Beard said, 'of course Rhodes was a racist, so were most of his contemporaries in the West'.[29] For mainstream British opinion, the statue of Rhodes was simply part of a coherent national past: it had risen in Oxford out of shared pro-Imperialist sympathy, and as an object in stone with decades of tenure of its place, it should be inviolate. Historic England took up this cue, briefing the press that it would resist any attempt to alter the façade of Oriel on heritage grounds.[30]

Quite apart from the fact that Rhodes' statue might be moved to a museum rather than destroyed, no commentator seemed aware that Rhodes was deeply controversial in his own time, particularly in Oxford. Behind the self-evident stone of the statue, a whole history of nineteenth- and early twentieth-century contestation of British imperialism and white supremacy had been deliberately silenced. Mark Twain had famously quipped, "I admire Rhodes, I fully confess it, and when his time comes I shall buy a piece of the rope for a keep sake". His contemporaries thought him at best a scoundrel, a stock manipulator, briber, and a bully, and at worst a criminal. Rhodes, Chesterton wrote, 'invoked slaughter, violated justice, and ruined republics'. Lecky suggested he should be jailed. In 1899, almost 100 people including the Master of Balliol, both proctors, and the cream of intellectual Oxford signed a memorial against Rhodes receiving an honorary degree.[31] Contrary to Mary Beard's casual assumption, the best spirits of his age held Rhodes in a contempt equal to the twenty-first century's. But these voices were written out of history by the free speech of Rhodes' money.

The commemorations of Rhodes in Oxford were part of a long campaign to launder Rhodes' reputation. He and his proxies paid for memorials, portraits and statues for him on a Stalinist scale. Many contemporaries thus saw the 1911 New Buildings of Oriel, with Rhodes, above Kings and Bishops, sneering across at the university church, as vulgar, if not idolatrous, with Evelyn Waugh in 1930 urging it be dynamited. In their uncritical apotheosis of Rhodes, the statue, at the time it was placed, represented only a minority view. The question arises, is the national heritage, that past which survives in perpetuity into the future, to be conceded always to those who in the past had the money and power to force their symbols into dominant places in the shared landscape of the city? Are the present and the future contracted in perpetuity with preserving the world view of the past in its pristine form, or might the face of the city not be remade to reflect both the silenced voices of the past and the ideas of the public and citizenship of the present? In a world which has rejected colonial domination and white supremacy, is it not time to reorder our cities and museums? The point is not the destruction of 'the past', as if there was ever one monolithic uncontested past, but the renegotiation of which past the present holds up to its face.

CONCLUSION

There is a very twenty-first century dimension to how those in Bridgetown and Oxford, who resist any revision of the public spaces of the postcolonial city, appeal to the idea of 'heritage'. Time was of course central to colonial domination, with the dominant elements constructing the colonized as the clients or students of the modern, caught in perpetual anachronism, always out of time with the mother/master time,

‘late’ to history, with lateness taken always as a condition of inferiority. Those who took power over the world imposed themselves as those who chose first, whether we think about how the product of labour would be distributed or how the city would look or be lived. There is thus something peculiar about those who emerged from the underside of these social and cognitive relations being compelled to honour that past regime of domination.

In the heyday of ideas of modernization in the middle of the twentieth century, no one questioned if or why India removed its heroic statues of British figures to a public park. Today, particularly in Britain, prominent voices, with large public support, prize an idea of ‘heritage’ as a perpetual service to every aspect of the order bequeathed by the past. This is a part of the retrogressive temporality of the twenty-first century. It is the cultural analogue of the financial order where obligations to the past, embodied in the interests of bondholders, in the choice of suppressed inflation, and with it suppressed wages and social protections, are honoured more than the needs of the present and projects for the future.

The museum and the city belong to the present. The retrogressive temporality of our moment is already under challenge around the world. There is a legitimate case to renegotiate the idea of heritage so that it includes a claim to many silenced pasts, and not just a bondage to that claim on the future made by those who once enjoyed the privileges of domination. Heritage requires a perpetual attention to the most inclusive view of citizenship and cosmopolitan inclusion.

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[2] William Cohen, "Symbols of Power: Statues in Nineteenth-Century Provincial France." *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, vol 31, no 3, 1989, pp 491–513.

[3] G. Jordan and N. Rogers, "Admirals as Heroes: Patriotism and Liberty in Hanoverian England", *Journal of British Studies*, 1989, 28(3), 201-224; Alison Yarrington, *His Achilles Heel? Wellington and Public Art* (Southampton, 1998); Jo Darke, *The Monument Guide to England and Wales: A National Portrait in Bronze and Stone* (London, 1991); Terry Cavanagh, *The Public Sculpture of Liverpool* (Liverpool, 1996); Christine MacLeod, *Heroes of Invention: Technology, Liberalism and British Identity, 1750-1914* (Cambridge, 2007), pp 18-22.

[4] Paul A. Pickering and Alex Tyrell, eds. *Contested Sites: Commemoration, Memorial and Popular Politics in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (London, 2017).

[5] On that controversy and some of its meanings, see Brian Kwoba, Rose Chantiluke and Athinangamso Nkopo, eds., *Rhodes Must Fall: The Struggle to Decolonise the Racist Heart of Empire* (London: Zed Books, 2018).

[6] Michel-Rolph Trouillot, *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History* (Boston, 1995).

[7] 'Barcelona retira la estatua de Antonio López por "esclavista"', *La Vanguardia*, 4 March 2018, https://www.lavanguardia.com/local/barcelona/20180304/441253554062/barcelo na-retira-estatua-antonio-lopez-esclavista.html (accessed 5 March 2018).

[8] The contrast with the treatment of the statue of Colston in Bristol is clear: https://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/home-news/bristol-torn-apart-over-statue-of-edward-colston-but-is-this-a-figure-of-shame-or-a-necessary-9555333.html (accessed 10 June 2018).

[9] Zethu Matebeni, "#Rhodesmustfall - It was never just about the statue', https://za.boell.org/2018/02/19/rhodesmustfall-it-was-never-just-about-statue (accessed 1 August 2018).

[10] https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/africaandindianocean/ southafrica/11525938/Cecil-Rhodes-statue-pulled-down-in-Cape-Town.html (accessed 9 April 2018).

[11] *Daily Telegraph*, 10 April 2003.

[12] See inter alia Andrew Foxall, A contested landscape: Monuments, public memory, and post-Soviet identity in Stavropol', Russia, *Communist and Post-Communist Studies*, 2013, 46, pp 167-178.

[13] Andor D. Heller, Hungarian News Agency, from J. C. Fortin, 'Toppling monuments, a visual history', *New York Times*, 17 August 2017, https://www.nytimes.com/2017/08/17/world/controversial-statues-monuments-destroyed.html (accessed 4 March 2018).

[14] https://www.loc.gov/resource/pga.02158 (accessed 1 June 2018).

[15] http://interactive.britishart.yale.edu/victoria-monuments/210/statue-of-queen-victoria- (accessed 1 June 2018).

[16] Y. Whelan, "The construction and destruction of a colonial landscape: monuments to British monarchs in Dublin before and after independence", *Journal of Historical Geography*, 2002, 28 (4), pp 508-533. For the more complicated case of Kenya see Laragh Larsen, "Re-placing imperial landscapes:

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[17] Statue of Horatio Nelson in Bridgetown Barbados, photo negative glass plate Charles W. Blackburne, early 20th century, from https://i2.wp.com/www.bajanthings.com/wp-content/uploads/2017/11/Nelson_TrafalgarSq_-2_CharlesWBlackburne_web.jpg?fit=1200%2C857&ssl=1 (accessed March 4, 2018).

[18] For a discussion of the history of this period and the matters discussed in this paragraph see Richard Drayton, 'Secondary Decolonization: The Black Power Moment in Barbados c. 1970', in Kate Quinn, *Black Power in the Caribbean* (Gainesville, Florida University Press, 2015), pp. 117-135, DOI:10.5744/florida/9780813049090.003.0006.

[19] *Report of the National Heroes Square and Gallery Development Committee* (Bridgetown, 2000), p 15.

[20] For an outline of the controversy, although with an inexact chronology, see Holgar Hooke, *Empires of the Imagination: Politics, War, and the Arts in the British World, 1750-1850* (London, 2010).

[21] *Barbados Today*, December 1, 2018.

[22] Eric Williams, *Inward Hunger: The Education of a Prime Minister* (London, 1969), p. 46.

[23] https://www.theguardian.com/education/2018/may/23/oxford-faces-anger-over-failure-to-improve-diversity-among-students (accessed 23 June 2018).

[24] https://www.oxfordstudent.com/2015/10/30/rhodes-remains-a-symbol-of-racism-in-oxford/ (accessed 23 June 2018).

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[26] http://www.ox.ac.uk/news/2016-01-12-chancellors-welcome-address (accessed 20 January 2016).

[27] https://www.telegraph.co.uk/education/educationnews/12096928/Oxford-University-students-who-dont-like-Cecil-Rhodes-should-think-about-being-educated-elsewhere-says-chancellor.html (accessed 20 January 2016).

[28]https://www.telegraph.co.uk/education/educationnews/12064936/Rhodesgate-Campaign-to-remove-Rhodes-statue-is-like-Isils-destruction-of-antiques-says-Oxford-don.html (accessed 20 January 2016).

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[30] *The Telegraph*, 19 December 2015, https://www.telegraph.co.uk/education/educationnews/12059379/Removal-of-Rhodes-statue-could-be-blocked-due-to-its-historical-interest.html (accessed 20 January 2018).

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